

STAT

Page Denied

STAT

NINTH PLENUM SPEECH OF JAKUB BERMAN
ON RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN POLISH VILLAGES

Nowe Drogi, Vol 7
Warsaw, Oct 1953

[The following report of Jakub Berman was given at the Ninth Plenum of the KC PZPR (Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party), held in Warsaw on 29-30 October 1953.

The report was given at the plenum as an amplification of the featured report of Premier Boleslaw Bierut, "Task of Party in Struggle to Raise Standard of Living of Workers in Current Phase of Building Socialism." An English-language translation of Bierut's report is available in the PAP (Polish Press Agency) release of 6 November 1953, pages 1-44.]

I would like to add a few comments on the meaning and the main guiding line of the present plenum.

Let us first consider why we can, only now, concentrate our efforts on speeding up agricultural production and production of consumer goods.

Comrade Bierut emphasized that this is not a local phenomenon, but a phenomenon outlined and developed on a far-reaching scale, a phenomenon embracing the entire camp of peace and socialism and especially, of course, the Soviet Union.

We are allocating large sums for those goals which we consider most urgent. Let me repeat some figures given by Comrade Bierut. As compared with 1953, the investment outlays for agriculture and forestry in 1955 will increase 45 percent; consumer goods industry, 38 percent; residential construction, 26 percent; and cultural and social facilities, 34 percent. These are not small increases and they require great effort. Today we can afford to regroup our strength and concentrate our resources and efforts in this direction. There are internal and external reasons for this. We have behind us a sizable industrial achievement which will facilitate progress. However, the basic reason which enables us to activate new capabilities is the great strength of the Soviet Union, the great and continually increasing ascendancy of the camp of peace and socialism over the imperialist camp. Connected with this are the continually increasing capabilities of raising the standard of living of the working masses.

During the past decades the imperialists spared no efforts in trying to destroy the Soviet Union and in trying to obstruct the revolution. Twice they resorted to invasions. They carried on a stubborn though unsuccessful embargo. They followed a policy of blackmail and provocation, necessitating large expenditures for defense. Every new year and every new success in building socialism disclosed more clearly the barrenness and ineffectiveness of these desperate imperialist efforts.

The USSR, at the moment its superiority is so pronounced and its accumulation of resources is so great that the Soviet Union, which has been consistently raising the standard of living of its people, can now collect the rich harvest of socialism, and can more fully and more effectively activate the immense possibilities inherent in the socialist structure. The Soviet measures to raise the standard of living of the working class are moving forward at a great pace, showing the way to the whole world. They have had an unheard of effect on hundreds of millions of people who, even today, are bowed under the yoke of capitalism.

STAT

It is difficult to evaluate the great political value of the recent Soviet economic moves. The influence of these moves will undoubtedly be immensely important and immensely effective for the international working class and for the whole world.

We must remember that compared with the Soviet Union, we are less advanced in socialized economy and still have many problems to solve. We must continue the policy of industrialization, but first of all we must achieve the socialization of the village, which is one of the basic sources of strength of the Soviet Union. Obviously this will limit our capabilities, but even here this surge is making progress. Because of our achievements and the help of the Soviet Union, we can be certain of realizing the tasks we are discussing today.

How can we realize these tasks? What is necessary to achieve them? As Comrade Bierut emphasized, there is no automatic or magic economic formula, only increased production and political consciousness of the working masses and peasants. Because we have shown them the right road and activated the proper resources, the realization of the tasks we have placed before ourselves will be facilitated.

In the cities, where all our efforts are directed along socialist paths, the response to our plenum and to the convocation of the congress will be a powerful increase in work competition, rationalizers' movements, inventions, and workers' innovations. Immense activity among millions of people will be the infallible response. The situation in the villages is much more complicated. There are three economic sectors to be considered, the small and medium individual farms, the capitalistic kulak farms, and the socialist co-operative farms. The foremost problem so strongly emphasized by Comrade Bierut is that of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

What concrete steps are we now taking to use Lenin's well-known three-in-one formula for a worker-peasant alliance? We are activating strong economic forces to aid the villages, and at the same time we are confirming positively that our task is to direct a larger stream of agricultural production to the cities. We have not forgotten for a moment about the "two souls" of the peasant; we have not forgotten for a moment that we have a quarter of a million kulak farms in Poland. We must not close our eyes to the fact that there are about 3 million small farms, and that our cooperative and state farms sectors are relatively weak. We are striving to increase the production of the small farms and are well aware of the fact that, under these conditions, certain new capitalist elements may be created, here and there, and that kulaks may take advantage of the government aid to agriculture.

There may be those who will say: Why should we do this? Why should we unfetter these elements? But such persons are forgetting that if we do not raise total agricultural production, the present relatively high share of kulak production in total production will continue, and the kulak position will be strengthened. At present, to propose the liquidation of the kulak would be nonsensical and an example of harmful trouble making.

We must fight the above tendencies just as we must fight against the various attitudes, often encountered in the field, of giving in to the kulak.

With this policy, we are not working in the dark. As a guarantee of the desired result, we are armed with a store of resources: the full mobilization of the party, its raised ideological level, and its political armament.

STAT

What are we going to prevent the kulaks from directing the production of small farmers toward capitalism? Comrade Bierut mentioned two tendencies which form the essence of the present struggle in the village. Following the only proper course, we are building protective walls to insure us against the growth of capitalist tendencies in villages. Today we have adequate strength and resources to check the growth of such tendencies.

What are the available resources which will effectively restrict the kulak? We shall continue to follow the class policy of the land tax and progressive taxation. We shall continue to apply the class policy of progressive quotas in compulsory deliveries. We shall limit more effectively -- and this is a new contribution of our plenum and Comrade Bierut's suggestions -- the exploitation of the small peasant by the kulak. We shall do this with all the resources available to the state, by our investment and credit policy, and with the aid of the MTS. Obviously this will not please the kulaks, but we shall do this in spite of them. The kulak would like to break up the economic link between the city and the village, but we must force him to fall in line; we must break his resistance. This cannot be achieved without a struggle. However, the realization of a proper worker-peasant alliance and further developments of the small and medium farmers will assure victory. We shall continue to increase the political isolation of the kulak and we shall thwart his efforts to bring part of the village over to his side.

We shall continue to strengthen the discipline of compulsory deliveries; this must be impressed on all the party cells. We shall direct an increased stream of goods to the villages; we shall create more profitable conditions for the small and medium farmer; we shall continue to favor the producers cooperative movement, for which we want to develop more rapidly and extensively. We must gain the confidence of the medium peasant in our economic policy in the village. We must not spare our efforts to convince him with facts that his plight would be much better within the alliance realized by the people's state and that he would have a better change of raising his production, his income, and his standard of living within the framework of the alliance between cities and villages.

What is the battle about? To free the medium peasant from the kulak and to show him all the advantages of the policy of alliance. The worker-peasant alliance is a bridge to socialism and a bridge to the cooperative movement. This is very important in the eventual activation of all elements of the alliance.

This is not a simple matter and we must remember that we have suffered more than one setback by using simplified and primitive methods, and by permitting certain activists to swerve from the party line.

We must see that all our loyal workers in the field learn to use the wealth of economic and political resources available to them in the class war not in progress.

In the class struggle, the people's authority obviously will not surrender the punitive measures provided by law. However, we do not wish to use repressive measures, but, keeping strictly within the law, we wish to paralyze and break down the activities of the enemy.

We must strengthen the political armament of our party activists from top to bottom. To win the battle an army must have the most modern and accurate weapons. Today an army without radar is often powerless. In many instances our party organization works without radar, without adequately supply methods to unmask the enemy. Our whole party must constantly enrich and improve its ideological weapons since that is the surest way to future achievements.

STAT

Lenin said: "Politics is more like algebra than arithmetic, and more like higher than lower mathematics." In politics the substance of old forms changes. Let us teach our activists the algebra of the worker-peasant alliance; let us not permit them to limit themselves to hammering out a formula. Let us teach our activists the art of adapting themselves to the processes and tasks confronting us as a whole.

Let us glance at our party organization in the villages. Can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that village party organizations constitute only 22.3 percent of the whole party? We often speak of the "white stains" in rural areas [areas without party organizations], but we have not concentrated sufficient resources to eliminate them effectively. Let us cite a few figures.

Forty-three percent of the total villages in Poland have no party organization. In Warsaw and Lodz wojewodztwos, 58 percent of the villages are without party organizations. Do the Warsaw and Lodz activists feel no responsibility in the matter? Is the working class in Slask incapable of developing adequate vigor to build party organization in villages which have none? Let us emphasize what Comrade Bierut said in his speech on the dual responsibility of the worker-peasant alliance: "The problem is to improve the ability of the working class in directing the worker-peasant alliance, to imbue it with more consciousness of the real meaning of the class war in progress in the villages. It is a question of increasing our efforts to give the working peasant effective political support and aid in production; to strengthen the village with work cadres; to bring the organs of the state authority, especially the people's councils, closer to the peasant masses; to combat bureaucracy and cliques; and to remove various grievances and difficulties of the working peasantry."

All this is the responsibility of the Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow, Slask, Poznan, and Bydgoszcz party organizations. It is just as important as production increases and political work among the workers.

There is a strong interdependence between the development of the party organizations in the villages and the development of agricultural production, the development of the producers cooperative movement, and the development of peasant discipline.

The pre-congress period must be a turning point, especially with regard to our village organizations. Their political level must be raised and their activities and numbers increased.

Only in this way can we assure a continued offensive development of the producers cooperative movement. Our organizations in the MTS must put life into their activities. There must be more elasticity and pliability in methods and, as some comrades have already emphasized, we must give more attention to the lower type of cooperatives.

Party workers in the field of ideological and party indoctrination have great tasks before them. The party must develop creativeness and adopt the great ideological challenge given by the ninth plenum and embraced in Comrade Bierut's speech.

The plan of activities contained in the documents of the ninth plenum carries great hope. It is up to us to put these suggestions and principles into action.

We shall show a real and concrete way to increase the welfare of the great masses and to a more complete victory of socialism in Poland. At the same time it shall be our contribution to the struggle and victory of the entire camp of peace and socialism.

- E N D -

STAT